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Another Fragment of the Etana Myth.—By MORRIS
JASTROW jr.

I.

By a fortunate chance the Berkshire Athenaeum of Pittsfield Mass. has come into possession of one of the tablets of Ashurbanapal's library.¹ Like the other specimens known to exist in this country,² this one also was brought to this country by the Rev. Dr. W. F. Williams, who, being at Mosul while Layard was conducting his excavations in the region, obtained some tablets from native Arabs. Three fragments are now in the possession of Dr. Talcott Williams of Philadelphia (son of Rev. Dr. Williams), a fourth after passing through several hands came into the hands of Mr. George Harding, a Trustee of the Berkshire Athenaeum who about two years ago presented it to the institution. My attention was called to it during a visit to Pittsfield, and I wish to express my obligations to Mr. H. H. Ballard, the curator of the Athenaeum who kindly placed the very interesting specimen at my disposal for study and copying. It measures $8\frac{1}{2} \times 10$ cm. and contains parts of 31 lines on the obverse and parts of 24 lines on the reverse together with a colophon showing parts of 6 lines. By comparison with similar colophons, the one on our text can be completed, adding about 3 more lines. Completing the tablet in this way, we are enabled to estimate the number of lines missing at the top of the obverse at about 9 lines. How many lines are missing at the bottom of the obverse and at the top of the reverse, it would, of course, be difficult to say,

¹ Discovered at Kouyunjik by Layard (1849). See Jastrow, *Did the Babylonian Temples have Libraries* (PAOS. XXVII, 147 seq.) and Bezold's Introduction to his *Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection* etc. (Vol. 5).

² Two have been published by me (1) "A Fragment of the Babylonian Dibbara Epic" (Phil. 1891) and (2) "A New Fragment of the Etana Legend" (*Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, Bd. III, pp. 363–383).

but from the comparison of this fragment with the twelve others known to us and a study of the various editions of the text that they represent, the conclusion may be reached that the obverse of our fragment covered about 70 lines and the reverse about 54.¹ The tablet when received contained considerable incrustation. Thanks to careful treatment at the Chemical Department of the University of Pennsylvania (for which I am under obligations to my colleague Prof. E. F. Smith and to his assistant Mr. Wallace) and to a thorough soaking of the tablet in water, many lines or individual characters that were at first obscured became entirely legible, or sufficiently so as to enable me to practically make out all of the tablet that has been preserved. Conjectural restorations are indicated in the transliteration and translation by being placed within brackets. The clay of the tablet is of the reddish color that is characteristic of so many of the tablets of Ashurbanapal's collection. The characters are carefully written but often difficult to read especially in the crowded portions. An interesting feature is the small double wedge frequently appearing in some of the lines,² indicating that in the copy from which our tablet was copied a line ended at the mark in question. The bearing of this feature on the interpretation will be shown further on. As to the holes evidently inserted into the clay *before* the characters were inscribed, scholars still waver between the supposition that they were made to protect the tablet from cracking in the course of baking, or as receptacles for wooden pegs on which the tablet rested while the one side was being inscribed. Probably neither supposition is correct. Tablets can be burned without air holes—witness the large historical clay cylinders and the business documents—and the attempt to steady the tablet by means of pegs at the places indicated by the holes would hardly prove very effective. The holes are both too close together and too irregularly distributed to make this supposition a plausible one. I have sometimes thought that they were inserted as a kind of guide to the scribe in copying his tablet, but this thesis also encounters objections.

¹ The colophon takes up 9 lines and these being more widely spaced, the reverse contains fewer lines than the obverse. See below pp. 113—123.

² On the reverse ll. 3. 12. 16. 17. 19. 20. 21. 22.

That the tablet belongs to the Etana myth follows from the colophon and is confirmed by the context. It is therefore a curious chance that two of the four fragments of the royal library that found their way to this country should form parts of one and the same series.

II.

The fragment reads as follows:¹

Transliteration.

Obverse

[about 9 lines wanting].

1. [it-ti(?)ka — — — — ru-'a-u-[tu]²
[lu] it-ba-ru a-[-na-ku]
[erû] pa-šu i-pu-šam-ma [a-na širi izakkar]
— — — — — ša ru-'a-u-tu — — — —
5. [lim-ni-ta]³-ma kab-[ta-ti nu-u-ri-is]⁴
il [GAL-la]⁵ ša ilâni [a-šak-ku ni-kul-ma]⁶
al-ka(?)⁷ ni-zaḫ-pa-am-ma — — —
ni-it-ma-a irsitim — —
ina maḥar (il) Šamaš ḫu-ra-di ma-mit it-[mu-u]
10. [ša] i-ta-a ša (il) Šamaš [it-ti-ku]
(il) Šamaš lim-niš ina ḫa-at ma-ḫi-ši [limahḫiṣ(?)⁸

¹ Restored portions and conjectural readings in brackets.

² A variant writing to ru-'u-tu. Cf. Muss-Arnolt, *Assyr. Dictionary*, p. 941^a where it is used of the friendship between ox and horse.

³ Restored according to rev. l. 8. Traces of *lim* and *ta* are discernible.

⁴ Restoration likewise based on rev. line 8 only—that—since it is Shamash who is bringing the charge against the eagle,—rev. l. 8 reads *tu-u-ri*, whereas here where the eagle and serpent are forming a plan, we must read *nu-u-ri*, corresponding to the verbs in ll. 7—8 which are in the first person plural.

⁵ Traces discernible. Cf. rev. l. 9.

⁶ Restored according to rev. l. 9 but *nikul* again instead of *takul*.

⁷ The first sign can hardly be anything else than *al*, though Geštin (Brünnow Nr. 5004) is possible. The second sign is very puzzling. I have settled upon *ka* as the most likely, though it looks as though the scribe had started to write a different sign—perhaps *Šun* (Brünnow Nr. 250).

⁸ Compare for lines 10—11, the parallel in the other fragment of the Etana myth published by me obv. l. 13 (*Beiträge zur Assyr.* III, p. 364), where we can now restore after *ḫa-at* the word *ma-ḫi-ši* and which on the other hand enables us to restore the end of ll. 10 and 12 of our text. Note also that in the other fragment ll. 10—11 appear as one line,

- ša *i-ta-a* ša (*il*) Šamaš [*it-ti-ku*]
 li-is-su-šu-ma ni-ri — — —
 kak-ku mur-tap-pi-du ēli-šu — —
15. giš-par-ru ma-mit (*il*) Šamaš lib-bal-ki-tu-šu-ma [*li-bar-ru-šu*]¹
 iš-tu ma-mit [*(il)* Šamaš] it-mu-u iršitim — —
 iz-zak-pu-nim-ma ša-da-a e-lu-[u ur-]a e-te-ku-u]
 ūmu I (*kam*) ta-a ili i-na-ša-ru[-u]²
 alpu rimu pu-ri-mu erû³ i-bar-ram-[ma]
20. širu ik-kal i-ni-'i-u ik-ka-lu mârê [*širi*(?)]
 ar-mi šabitê širu i-bar-ram-[ma]
 erû ik-kal i-ni-'i-u ik-ka-lu mârê [*erû*(?)]
 sa-ap-pa-ri di-da-ni erû i-bar-ram-[ma]
 širu ik-kal i-ni-'i-u ik-ka-lu mârê [*širi*(?)]
25. — — — kak-ka-ri širu i-bar-ram-ma
 [erû ik-kal i-ni]'i-u ik-ka-lu mârê [*erû*(?)]
 [erû ir-bi ak-]kul-li mârê erû ir-bu-u i-ši-ti
 [ištu mârê erû] ir-bu-u i-ši-ti
 [ištu mârê erû]⁴ li-mut-tu ik-pu-du-ma
30. [erû lib-ba-]⁵šu li-mut-tu
 [ik-pu-ud-ma a-na a-ka-li ad-mi ša ru'a]⁶šu iš-kun
 [number of lines lacking about 30].

Reverse.

[number of lines lacking about 30].

— — — — — — — — — — ri — — —
 — — — — — — — — — — i i-pu(?) — — —

though with the indication that in the text from which it was copied there were two lines as in our text. The word *limût* is of course conjectural but some such word must have stood there.

¹ Parallel line in the other fragment obv. 12 which suggests the restoration at the close.

² Cf. the phrase *la na-šir mamit ilâni rabûti* (VR. 8, 67).

³ So the compound ideograph Id-Ĥu is to be read and not *našru*, as is shown by the phonetic writing *e-ru-u* in the fragment published by Scheil (*Rec. des Travaux*, xxiii, p. 21; rev. ll. 2 and 4). This is confirmed by [e]-*ru-u* in the fragment K. 1547 rev. 20 (*Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, ii, p. 445) which in turn corresponds to rev. 21^a of our fragment where the ideographic writing Id-Ĥu occurs.

⁴ Restoration suggested by the other fragment obv. 2 which itself may now be restored as follows: *ištu mârê erû [li-mut-tu ik-pu-du-ma]*.

⁵ The restoration [*lib-ba-*]šu is quite certain. Traces of *ba* discernible. Cf. the other fragment obv. 3 where no doubt *limuttu* is to be added.

⁶ Restored according to the other fragment obv. 5.

- — — — — [u-mi-]šam-ma im-ta-na-ḥa-[ra (il) Šamaš]
 [i-na] šu-ut-ta-ti a-ma-ta-ma man-nu i-di-ki i-šak-na tuš-še
 arad-ka
5. [ia-]a-ši erū bul-liṭ-an-ni-ma
 [a-na] u-mi da-ru-u-ti zi-kir-kalu-uš-te eš-me
 (il) Šamaš pa-šu epuš-ma a-na erī i-zak-kar-[šu]
 lim-ni-ta-ma kab-ta-ti tu-u-ri-is
 (il) GAL-la ša ilāni a-šak-ku ta-kul
10. ta-ma-ta-a-ma la a-sa-an-ni ḫa-aḫ-ka-[ri]¹
 a-lik a-me-la ša a-šap-pa-rak-ka ḫat-ku li-is-[bat]
 (il) E-ta-na u-mi-šam-ma im-ta-aḥ-ḥa-ra (il) Šamaš
 ta-kul (il) Šamaš ku-bur šu-'e-a iršitim² mithar-ti³ i-da-am
 az-li-[ia]
 ilāni u-kab-bit e-dim-ma ap-kid.
15. ig-dam-ra maš-šak-ki-ia (ŠAL)EN-ME-LI (meš)
 az-li-ia ina tu-ub-bu-ḫi⁴ ilāni ig-dam-[ru-]
 be-lum ina pi-i-ka li-ša-am-ma id-nam-ma šam-ma ša a-[la-di]
 kul-li-man-ni-ma šam-ma ša a-la-di bil-ti u-suḫ-ma šu[-ma
 šuk-na-an-ni]⁵
 (il) Šamaš pa-šu i-pu-uš-ma a-na (il) E-ta-na i-zak-[kar-šu]
20. a-lik ur-ḥa e-ti-iḫ šad-a a-mur šu-ut-ta-tum ki-[rib-ša bi-ri]⁶
 ina lib-bi-ša na-di erū u-kal-lim-ka šam-[ma ša a-la-di]
 a-na zi-kir (il) Šamaš ḫu-ra-di (il) E-ta-na il-lik [ur-ḥa e-ti-iḫ
 šad-a]
 i-mur-ma šu-ut-ta-tum ki-rib-ša ib-ri ina lib-[bi-ša na-di erū]⁷
 ul-la-nu-um-ma ul-taḫ-ka-aš-[šu]⁸

¹ From this line on to the middle of l. 21 we have a duplicate in Harper's 2d fragment, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, II, p. 394 (K. 1547 Rev.). Lines 5 to 10 of this fragment may now be restored according to our text.

² The reading confirmed by *ir-si-[ti]* in Harper's fragment l. 9. Note that line 13 of our text covers two lines in Harper's fragment (ll. 8—9).

³ Brünnow Nr. 11261 or perhaps *rapašti* as Harper restores (ib. p. 392, line 10).

⁴ Correct Harper's reading accordingly. Cf. IV R² 20 Nr. 1, 27 *az-lu tu-ub-bu-ḫu*.

⁵ Restored according to the duplicate l. 16.

⁶ Restoration based on l. 23.

⁷ According to l. 21.

⁸ See the line before the colophon to K 2606 rev.—parallel to our text [*ul-]la-nu-um-ma uš-ta-ḫa-aš-šu*. Correct Harper's reading of the line accordingly. For *ullanum* in the sense of "recently just now," see e. g. Virolleaud, *L'Astrologie Chaldéenne*, Sin Nr. III, 4; xviii, 29 etc.

Colophon.

25. *erû pa-šu i-pu-šam-ma ana (il) Šamaš beli-šu [i-zak-ka-
 duppu II (kam) ala i-ši tum(?) — — —
 êkal Ašur-ban-apal šar [kiššati šar, mât Ašur(ki)].¹
 ša (il) Nabu (il) Tāš-me-tum uz-nu ra-[pa-aš-tum išruḫû-šu]
 i-ḫu-uz-zu ênâ na-mir-tum [ni-siḫ dup-šar-ru-ti]*
30. *ša ina šarrâni a-lîk maḫ-ri-ia [mimmu šip-ru šu-a-tu la
 i-ḫu-uz-zu]
 [ni-me-ki (il) Nabu ti-kip sa-an-tak-ki ma-la ba-aš-mu
 ina duppâni aš-tur as-niḫ ab-ri-e-ma
 a-na ta-mar-ti ši-ta-as-si-ia ki-rib êkal-ia u-kin].*

Translation.

[Obverse.]

1. [Let us form(?)] friendship [you and I(?)]²
 Verily, a friend I [to thee will be(?)]
 [The eagle(?)]³ opened his mouth and [to the serpent(?)
 spoke],
 [An agreement(?)] of friendship [let us make(?)],
5. The wicked and mighty(?) let us crush(?)⁴,
 [The *gallu*]⁵ of the gods, [the *ašakku* let us destroy],

¹ Restored according to II R 21, 26—34; 33; 38; IV R² 55 etc. etc.

² While the restorations in this and in the 4th line are of course purely conjectural, it is evident that the serpent and eagle are proposing to form an alliance.

³ Room for two signs—hence the suggestion to read *ID-ḪU*, though of course it is possible that the serpent is addressing the eagle.

⁴ *nu-u-ri-is* (like *tu-u-ri-is* rev. 8) from *arâsu*(?), perhaps related to *rêsu* (Muss-Arnolt, *Assyr. Dict.*, p. 104^b) like *arašu* to *rêšu*. One is naturally inclined at first to take *limnita* and *kabtati* as permansives “evil and wicked art thou” but there are various obstacles in the way. One should expect *kabtata* as in the 4th tablet of the Creation Story l. 3. To denounce one as “evil and mighty” would be a strange combination. I prefer to take both words as descriptive epithets. The force of the *ma* which as the combining element outside of verbs is not infrequent in divination texts (see e. g. IV R² 34 Nr. 1, obv. 4) seems to be that of conveying a compound term “powerfully wicked” or “wickedly powerful.”

⁵ The addition of *la* to *Nun* points to the reading *gallu* and I have no hesitation in identifying this with the well-known designation of a particular demon, for which, to be sure, the ordinary ideographic designation is *Te-Lal* (Brünnow Nr. 7732) but which is also written phonetically *gal-lu-u* and *gal-lu*. See Muss-Arnolt, *Assyr. Dict.*, p. 217^a. The juxtaposition with the demon *ašakku* leaves no doubt as to the identification.

- — let us set up — — —
 Let us lay a ban on the earth — —
 In the presence of Shamash, the warrior, the ban they laid.
10. Whoever [transgresses] the bounds of Shamash,
 May Shamash grievously through the destroyer¹ [cut off]!
 Whoever [transgresses] the bounds of Shamash,
 May he remove him and — — —
 May the overpowering weapon [fall] on him — —
15. May the sling, the ban of Shamash hit him [and catch him]!
 When they had laid the ban [of Shamash] on the earth — —
 They set up, they ascended the mountain [they took the
 road(?)].
 For one day they kept the charm² of the god.
 An ox, a wild ox, a wild ass, the eagle caught,
20. The serpent ate,³ drew back, the young [of the serpent(?)] ate.
 A mountain goat, gazelles, the serpent caught,
 The eagle ate, drew back, the young [of the eagle(?)] ate.
 A wild mountain gazelle,⁴ a *didanu*,⁵ the eagle caught,
 The serpent ate, drew back, the young [of the serpent(?)]
 ate.
25. — — — of the ground⁶ the serpent caught,
 [The eagle ate, drew back], the young [of the eagle(?)] ate.

¹ For *mahiṣu* in the sense here taken it is sufficient to refer to the passage in the hymn to Shamash ZA. IV, p. 31, col. III, 29 where the word appears in juxtaposition with *mu-tir-ru bāli* "destroyer of cattle."

² Instead of *ta-a* one is tempted in view of the preceding lines to read *i-ta-a*, the accidental omission of the *i* being due to its resemblance to the preceding *kam*. However, *tû* as a synonym of *mamîtu* is no doubt correct.

³ The reading *ik-rib* "drew near" is of course possible here and in the succeeding lines, but in view of *ik-ka-lu*, the preference is to be given to *ik-kal*, just as in the Deluge myth (Gilgameš XI, 155) *ik-kal i-ša-ah-ḫi* "ate and went away" which is a partial parallel to our passage. Cf. Muss-Arnolt, *Assyr. Dict.*, p. 34^b. Whether at the end of the line we are to restore *erû* or *širu* is also open to question, though the general sense is not affected whichever reading we adopt.

⁴ Cf. II R 6, 6d. Our passage fixes the correct reading of the term with an *s* and not *šap-pa-ru* as has been hitherto assumed. Delitzsch in his *Assyrische Tiernamen*, p. 48 read correctly *sapparu*, but his comparison of a very doubtful Arabic term شفر "young gazelle" is not acceptable.

⁵ Or *di-ta-nu* as II R 6, 7^d.

⁶ It is tempting to restore *šaḫ kaḫkari* in view of II R 24 Nr. 1 rev. 19, but the traces do not favor this.

- [When the eagle stirred up] tribulation(?),¹ the young of the eagle raised an uproar.²
 [When the young of the eagle] raised an uproar,
 [When the young of the eagle] planned evil,
 30. [The eagle directed his heart] in evil design.
 [To eat the young of his friend] he determined.³
- — — — —

[Reverse.]

- — — — — [the eagle] daily faced Shamash.
 [In] the hole I will die and he who stirred up, should settle the strife⁴ of thy servant.
 5. Me the eagle let me live and
 Eternally, I will glorify thy name.
 Shamash opened his mouth and spoke to the eagle.
 The wicked and mighty one didst thou carry off.
 The powerful one of the gods, the *ašakku* didst thou consume.
 10. Therefore thou shouldst die⁵ and to the unseen(?)⁶ land
 Go! The man whom I shall send to thee may he seize hold of thee.⁷
 Etana daily faced Shamash,⁸

¹ The reading *ak-kul-lî* is suggested by the following *išitu*.

² Cf. *e-ši-ti mâti* (I R 40 col. IV, 36) by the side of *ešitu* and *i-šit-tu* (see Jastrow, *Religion Babyl. u. Assy.*, I, p. 480 note 12 and II, p. 54 note 7). The general sense is "uproar." "Geschrei" as I rendered it II, p. 54, is perhaps better than "Vernichtung" (I, p. 480), though destruction is also involved.

³ While the restorations in these lines are again purely conjectural, the general context has, I think, been correctly caught with the help of the fragment above (p. 103, note 8) referred to.

⁴ For *tuš-še* in connection with *dikû* see the Hammurabi Code col. VIII, 2 *tu-uš-sa-am-ma id-ki*. The contrast to *dikû* would naturally be *šakânu*.

⁵ The emphatic form *ta-ma-ta-a-ma* conveys the force of deserving death; it is a threat rather than a mere assertion.

⁶ *asanmu* is a new word and evidently a description of the dwelling-place of the dead. One is reminded of the *a-šar la a-ri* "unseen place" in the incantation IV R² 16, 47^a which, as l. 51 *a-šar la a-ši-e* shows, refers to the nether world.

⁷ Evidently in the sense of furnishing assistance, as in the passages quoted by Muss-Arnolt, *Assyr. Dict.*, p. 861^a.

⁸ The phrase implies an appeal to the god (as above l. 3)—making the direct statement that Etana opened his mouth etc. superfluous.

- Thou hast consumed, o Shamash, the strength(?) of my sheep,
in the whole earth the young(?) of my lambs.¹
- The gods I have honored, the shades, I have regarded,
15. The priestesses² have put an end³ to my offerings.⁴
- My lambs through slaughter⁵ the gods have put an
end to.
- O lord! By thy command may some one go out and give
me the plant of birth!
- Show me the plant of birth, tear out the fruit⁶ and [grant
me] an offspring!
- Shamash opened his mouth and spoke to Etana.
20. Take the road, pass to the mountain, seek out the hole,
[look] within it.
- Wherein the eagle has been thrown, I will show thee the
plant [of birth].

¹ A difficult line. The parallelism with *az-li-ia* leaves no doubt as to the force of *šu-'e-a*. In the Gilgameš epic, *ku-bur* (VI, 123, 147, 188) written as in our passage, occurs in connection with the "horns" and "tail" of the divine bull, and the general sense of "strength" fits the context. The "strength of my sheep" would be equivalent to "my strong sheep." As a parallel to this, I am inclined to take *i-da-am az-li-ia*, connecting the former with *admu* "offspring". Naturally, this is merely offered as a suggestion. To take *idâm* as a verbal form from *da'amu* "dark" gives no good sense. Shamash being addressed could not be the subject, as little as *iršitum* which is feminine. If my interpretation is correct, *idâm* as a parallel to *kubur* would have more specifically the force of "vigorous." Is this perhaps the underlying sense of the stem *adâmu* from which we get *admu* in Assyrian "young, vigorous" and אָדָם in Hebrew, —parallel to *vir* "the strong one" as the designation of "man"—by the side of the other word for man among the Semites אִנְשָׁן etc. = Assyrian *enšu*, *nišê*, *tenišêti* etc. as the "weak" one?

² Our text shows that "priestesses" are introduced—not priests as Harper assumed—hence the feminine plural *igdamrâ*. The syllabary V R 13 rev. 49 is, accordingly, to be restored [*Šal En-]-Me-Li* = *ša-il-tu*. In the text IV R 60* B obv. 7 we have the masculine equivalent with *maššaku* as in our case. See Jastrow, *A Babylonian Parallel to the Story of Job* (*Journal of Bibl. Literature*, XXV, p. 159 notes 84—85).

³ *igdamra* I take in the sense of "destroy" as implying the rejection of the offerings. IV R 60* C rev. 99 *šaḥātu* "destroy" is employed in the same way.

⁴ *maš-šak-ki-ia*. Cf. Jastrow ib. note 85.

⁵ Not as a sacrifice but as an actual destruction.

⁶ *biltu* I take as a reference to the tearing out of the plant—not to the birth of a child as Harper assumed.

On the order of Shamash the warrior Etana took [the road
passed to the mountain],
Sought out the hole, looked within it, [wherein the eagle
was cast],
(Where) recently he had been left to perish.¹

Colophon.

25. The eagle opened his mouth and to Shamash his lord [spoke].
2nd tablet of the series *ala i-ši tum* (?) — — —
Palace of Ašurbanapal, king [of the universe, king of
Assyria],
Whom Nebo and Tašmit [have granted wide] understanding,
Endowed with clear vision [for the glorious art of writing]²,
30. Whereas among the kings before me [none had acquired
that art].
[The wisdom of Nebo, the grouping(?)]³ of all extant col-
lections(?]⁴,
On tablets I wrote, compiled and revised, to be seen and
to be read in my palace I placed.⁵

¹ II, 1 from *šakâšu*.

² *nišik dupšarruti* is to be taken as a compound term "writing-art" and to be connected directly with the preceding *êna namirtum*. The latter phrase might be rendered "clear insight." To separate *nišik dupšarruti* from what precedes as Myhrman does (*ZA*, XVI, p. 167), following Delitzsch, *Assyr. Wörterbuch*, p. 293, is to lose the force of the whole line.

³ *ti-kip*—for which Delitzsch's explanation (*Assyr. Thiernamen*, p. 8), connecting it with talmudic תִּקַּף "join" still seems to be the most satisfactory. Cf. also II R 49, Nr. 1 obv. 13 and III R 57, Nr. 6, 52 seven *ti-ik-pi* stars = seven "joined" stars.

⁴ *santakku* is certainly to be derived from *satâku* with inserted *n*, as the variant *sa-tak-ki* (V R 51, col IV, 55) shows. My suggestion for *santakku* is based on the circumstance that the ideograph for the word is the sign Tiš (Meissner, Nr. 7563) in S. A. Smith, *Keilschrifttexte Assurbanipals*, I, p. 112, 15 = V R 13 and elsewhere (see Muss-Arnolt, *Assyr. Dict.*, p. 787^b) in the phrase *šabê santakkika* = "thy collected troops."

⁵ It is of course possible that the colophon contained several additional lines like IV R² 56 and V R 51. A collection of all the various colophons and a careful renewed study of them is much to be desired, as a supplement to Delitzsch's discussion in his *Assyrische Thiernamen*, pp. 6—11 and in the *Assyr. Wörterbuch*, pp. 293—294. Such a study would show that the various classes of texts had distinctive colophons. See Jastrow, *Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, II, p. 226 note 1 for the form characteristic of divination texts.

III.

The general character of the contents of the fragment is clear. The obverse evidently opens with a scene between the serpent and the eagle, in the course of which the two agree to form a friendship in order to carry out some plan of attack together. That plan involves the capture and destruction of demons and, apparently also, of placing the entire earth under a ban. The serpent and eagle swear a powerful and binding oath in the name of Shamash who is here viewed in his usual rôle of judge and punisher of those who do wrong.

The next scene leads us to the mountain whither the serpent and eagle have gone. During the one day that they kept the agreement, they succeeded in capturing a number of animals and sharing them together. Then the catastrophe occurs. Prompted apparently by a suspicion of the serpent's fidelity, the eagle plans an attack upon the young of the serpent. At this point, unfortunately, the obverse of the fragment breaks off, and when the thread of the narrative is again taken up on the reverse, we find the eagle thrown into a hole and in a state of utter despair appealing to Shamash to help him out of his predicament. The sun-god reproaches him for what he has done, but acceding to the eagle's prayer to let him live, declares that he will send a man to his assistance. The third scene introduces us to the man who is none other than Etana. He is a shepherd¹ whose flocks have evidently suffered through the ban that has been laid upon the earth. They have failed to bring forth young and Etana, accordingly, appeals to Shamash to show him the plant of birth. Shamash in reply tells Etana to go to the mountain to the hole wherein the eagle has been thrown and there he will see the plant of birth. The fourth scene takes us back to the mountain but with the meeting of Etana and the eagle, our tablet—the second of the series—closes.

¹ See K 2606 obv. 6 *ri-e-um-ši-na* (Harper, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, II, p. 399). It is interesting to note that on cylinders representing Etana's flight, a shepherd with his flocks is pictured as looking at the eagle bearing Etana aloft. According to Dr. W. H. Ward's plausible explanation, the accompaniments to a scene on a cylinder stand in a direct connection with the main representation, symbolizing other episodes that belong to it. In this case, therefore, the shepherd would be Etana feeding his flocks.

In order now to understand the purport of these four scenes it is necessary to pass to a consideration of the other fragments of this myth that are known to us. It is the merit of Dr. E. J. Harper¹ to have added to the three fragments dealing with a story of the eagle, serpent and Etana found by George Smith² among the tablets of Ashurbanapal's library, seven others in one way or the other connected with the two. An eleventh fragment—also from this library was published by me as indicated above³ and a twelfth—in the older Babylonian script—by Scheil.⁴

Harper divided his ten fragments into three groups as follows:—(1) containing a story of the serpent and the eagle together with what he calls—erroneously however—a prayer of Etana for his son,⁵ (2) the story of Etana's ride on the back of the eagle, (3) an assembly of the gods. In my publication of the 11th fragment, I suggested⁶ a somewhat different order but Jensen's discussion of the fragments⁷ together with the study of the 13th fragment, herewith published, has led me to a modification of my views. The new fragment shows that Jensen was right in his suggestion that the 11th fragment though ending with the consignment of the eagle to a hole in which he is to die does not necessarily involve the death of the eagle. My contention, therefore, that the episode of the eagle with Etana must be placed *before* the discomfiture of the eagle was erroneous. I now accept Harper's view which is adopted by Jensen that the story of the serpent and the eagle comes *before* that of the eagle and Etana. There is now also no reason for questioning⁸ the connection of K 8578 with Rm 79, 7—8, 43 as proposed by Harper, but on the other hand the new fragment while confirming my suggestion that the first line of K 8578 obv. is to be completed in accordance with the colophon to K 2606 rev., raises the question whether K 8578 represents the 4th tablet of the series?

¹ *Die Babylonischen Legenden von Etana, Zu, Adapa und Dibbarra* (*Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, II, pp. 391—408).

² Chaldaean Genesis (5th ed.), pp. 138—144. ³ See above p. 101, note 2.

⁴ *Recueil des Travaux*, xxiii, pp. 18—23.

⁵ It is an appeal of Etana to the sun-god.

⁶ *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, III, p. 371.

⁷ *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, VI, 1, p. 100 note 2.

⁸ As was done by me in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, II, p. 370. See Jensen's strictures *KB*, VI, 1, p. 102.

Attention has already been called to the fact¹ that the colophon of our fragment contains as the opening line of the following tablet the same words as in the colophon to K 2606 rev. Moreover, the last line of K 2606 rev. would appear to be identical with the last line of our fragment. In the case of our fragment, however, the colophon states that this tablet is the 2nd of the series, whereas K 2606 is entered as the 3rd tablet of the series.² It follows that we have here two different editions of the text and that what covered only two tablets in the one copy covered three tablets in the other. The marks on the reverse of our tablet indicating the ends of lines in the copy from which our fragment was copied shows, as a matter of fact, that the 12 fragments from Ashurbanapal's library represent different copies. Since K 2606 represents on the obverse the account of the assembly of the gods—Harper's third episode—we would have to assume in order that K 2606 rev. and our fragment should represent duplicates of one another, that the broken off portion of the obv. and the rev. of K 2606 contained considerably more than the episodes which in our fragment cover the obverse and reverse. A consideration of this thesis will show that it is improbable. The new fragment, as will presently be shown belongs to a tablet much longer than any of the others and to assume that K 2606 should represent part of a tablet again twice as long (at least) as the new one is certainly highly improbable. Moreover, if K 2606 belongs to a tablet so much larger than the one of which the new fragment forms a part, we would certainly not expect—since the tablets of any edition of a series are of the same size—that what covered two tablets in the edition of which the new fragment is a part should require three tablets in the other edition but rather the reverse. A simpler solution will be suggested in the course of this discussion.

IV.

The analysis given of the new fragment shows that it belongs to Harper's first group. The next point to be made clear is its relationship to the other fragments of this group.

¹ See above p. 105, note 8.

² A renewed examination of the fragment kindly made by Mr. L. W. King confirms Harper's reading (3 wedges).

Taking up K 1547 first, we note that the reverse is a duplicate of the reverse of the new fragment which we will designate hereafter as the 13th,—ll. 5—20 of the former = ll. 10—20^a of the latter, i. e. 16 lines against 11½ lines, indicating that we have two different copies before us. The indications in ll. 16, 17, 18 and 19 of the ends of lines in the text from which the 13th fragment was copied show that the scribe had an original before him in which the lines agreed with the length of those in K 1547. The obverse of the latter shows no points of agreement with the obverse of the new fragment but corresponds with the rev. of K 2527,—ll. 23—42 of K 2527 = ll. 1—24 of obv. of K 1547. Now, the obverse of K 1547 begins with the appeal of the serpent to Shamash for revenge upon the eagle who has eaten the young of the serpent. The lower edge of the obverse of K 2527 is preserved so that we have on the reverse, as on the obverse of K 1547, the continuation of the story—the advice of the sun-god to the serpent to enter the carcass of a wild mountain bull and to pounce upon the eagle as he swoops down to eat the flesh of the carcass. The immediate continuation of this episode is furnished by the reverse of the 11th fragment. Evidently the first seven lines¹ correspond to K 2527 rev. 35—42 and to K 1547 obv. 17—24. The practical agreement in regard to lines (7 as against 8) shows that these three fragments belong to tablets of about the *same* size.

The strategy succeeds, the eagle is caught, stripped of his feathers and altogether badly battered is thrown into a hole and there left to die. This hole is evidently in the mountain, for it is to this hole to which Etana is sent by Shamash. The two tablets therefore,—K 2527 and the 11th fragment—closed with this episode, while the reverse of K 1547 represents the continuation. The obverse of the 11th fragment contains the incident of the treachery of the eagle and joins on to the end of the obverse of the 13th fragment—ll. 2—5 of the 11th fragment = ll. 29—31 of the 13th fragment, though the lengths of the lines do not correspond. The new fragment thus furnishes a piece of the narrative that takes precedence to what is contained on the other three—namely, the alliance between the eagle and the

¹ Some of my readings must be corrected as Jensen (*K. B.* VI, 1, p. 106 seq.) very properly pointed out.

serpent, and their adventures until the point of treachery. Again, the obverse of K 2527 represents the episode after the destruction of the young of the serpent by the eagle, namely the appeal of the serpent to Shamash, but we have no means of accurately determining the size of the gap between where the obverse of the 11th fragment breaks off and where the obverse of K 2527 takes up the thread, but it was probably not large. At the top of the obverse of the 11th fragment only a few lines are missing, for the end of the reverse represents in all probabilities the last line of the tablet, followed by the colophon. Assuming that K 2527 and the 11th fragment represent parallel texts, both must have begun at the point represented by l. 27 of the obverse of the 13th fragment, which marks a new phase in the narrative—the beginning of the treachery. We thus obtain for these two tablets (a) obverse = 20 lines of the 11th fragment plus 20 lines of K 2527 = 40, to which we may add as a maximum a gap of say 10 lines = 50 lines and (b) reverse = 21 lines of K 2527 plus 17 additional lines of the 11th fragment = 38 lines which with 3 or 4 lines of the colophon would bring the total to about 42 lines. The break of circa 30 lines at the end of the obverse of the 11th fragment and the beginning of the reverse (20 of which are filled up by the obverse of K 2527) must of course be distributed between the two sides. We thus obtain for the total length of each of the two fragments between 90 and 100 lines, both covering the following episodes: (1) treachery of the eagle and destruction of the young of the serpent, (2) appeal of the serpent to Shamash, (3) advice of Shamash, and (4) success of the strategy and the discomfiture of the eagle. The new fragment covers this entire field and, in addition, starts at a point further back—the story of the alliance and of the adventures of the eagle and serpent in the mountain. It also continues the story after the discomfiture of the eagle, furnishing three new episodes: (1) the appeal of the eagle to Shamash for rescue, (2) the appeal of Etana for the plant of birth, (3) the coming of Etana to the place of the eagle in the mountain. The length of this tablet must therefore have been considerably greater, namely, 27 lines till the obverse of the 11th fragment plus 90 to 100 lines, and since at the top of the obverse only a few lines are missing,—inasmuch as we have the close of the reverse preserved—we may estimate the length of the

tablet to which the 13th fragment belongs at about 130 lines—perhaps only 124 lines divided between the two sides. The episode of the alliance and of the adventures of the eagle and serpent with which the obverse of the 13th fragment begins—say from 33 to a maximum of 36 lines—not being sufficient to cover an entire tablet, we are justified in assuming that in the editions to which K 2527 and the 11th fragment belonged, the tablet that preceded began at a point further back than the account of the alliance and the adventures, which could have been narrated on the reverse. In other words the relation of the edition of K 2527 and the 11th fragment, which we may call edition A, to the edition of the 13th fragment, which we may call B, is about the same as the edition of K 1547—the obverse of which = reverse of K 2527, and which we may call C, is to A; i. e.

(a) obverse of A in tablet no x of the series = rev. of B, and

(b) obverse of C in tablet no x of the series = rev. of the preceding tablet in A,

which means that the tablets of edition B contain much more than edition A, and the tablets of edition C much less than A. What therefore would be the 2nd tablet in B would be the 3rd tablet in A, while a part of it in C would even run over into the 4th tablet. The point is of importance for the relationship of the two remaining joined fragments of Harper's first group K 8578 and Rm 79, 7—8, 43.

Before taking these up, attention must be called to the relationship of K 1547 to the 13th fragment. Just as K 2527 and the 11th fragment end with the same episode—the discomfiture of the eagle,—so K 1547 and the 13th fragment end with the coming of Etana to the eagle, but while the first pair represent parallel texts, this is not the case with the latter pair, for the obverse of the 13th fragment begins at a point considerably further back than the obverse of K 1547 which (so far as preserved) starts with the advice of Shamash to the serpent. Since at the most six lines on the bottom of the reverse are missing to bring it to the point where the 13th fragment closes, there are (making allowance for a colophon on the reverse) at the most 10 lines missing at the top of the reverse. As a matter of fact, counting 8 lines back on K 2527, line 22 (= top of obverse of K 1547) would bring us to the beginning of Shamash's answer to the

appeal of the serpent and with which K 1547 in all probabilities began. The total length of K 1547 would thus be $8 + 24 + 17$ (additional lines on the 11th fragment) up to the discomfiture of the eagle = 49 lines. Then the 24 lines of the reverse of the 13th fragment plus a few lines missing at the top would make the total length of this table about 80 lines. The three editions would thus be made up of tablets as follows:

Edition A = Tablets of 90 to 100 lines

Edition B = Tablets of 124 to 130 lines

Edition C = Tablets of about 80 lines.

The calculation is naturally only approximate for the length of the lines differs somewhat also in the three editions but it is close enough for our purposes. The result reached above is thus confirmed that what corresponds to the 2nd tablet of the series in B would reach into the 3rd tablet in A and perhaps into the 4th tablet in C.

Coming now to the two joined fragments, they evidently contained the second address of the eagle to the sun-god promising to do all that was asked of him,¹ and the dialogue that ensued between the eagle and Etana upon the coming of Etana to the hole wherein the eagle lay. Etana asks the eagle to show him the plant of birth² but here, unfortunately, the fragment breaks off. The colophon to the 13th fragment, however, shows that the 3rd tablet of edition B began with an address of the eagle to Shamash and since K 8578 etc. begins with *erû pi-i-šu*, Jensen accepts my suggestion, made at the time of the publication of the 11th fragment, that this line is to be restored according to the colophon of K 2606 which tallies with that of the 13th fragment. Through the contents of this fragment the conjecture is strengthened, if not indeed definitely confirmed, since, as we have seen it contains an episode to which K 8578 etc. naturally joins on. We may therefore with perfect safety assume that K 8578 represents either

¹ ll. 5-6 "whatever he will say to me [I will do], whatever I will say to him [let him do]. See Jensen *KB* VI, 1, p. 110. The reference is to Etana. L. 7 "according to the command of the warrior Shamash, [Etana took the road]" begins the episode of Etana's coming to the eagle, accompanied, apparently, by a young eagle to show him the way.

² Line 12 seq. evidently repeats in substance rev. 17 seq. of the 13th fragment—the same appeal being made by Etana for the plant of birth, but this time addressed to the eagle.

the beginning of the 3rd tablet of edition B or the 4th (or more probably the 5th) of edition C. To which of these two editions it actually belongs, it is of course impossible to say. Dividing the contents of all the fragments of the first group now known to us (KK 1547, 2527, 8578 etc.) and the 11th and 13th fragments into episodes we obtain the following survey:

(1) The alliance between the eagle and serpent and the adventures of the two recounted on the obv. of the 13th fragment ll. 1—26.

(2) The treachery of the eagle proposed and carried out despite the warning of a "very wise" young eagle recounted (a) on the remaining portion of the 13th fragment, ll. 27seq. and (b) on the 11th fragment obverse.

(3) The appeal of the serpent to Shamash for revenge on the eagle, recounted on K 2527, ll. 1—14.

(4) Advice of Shamash to the eagle recounted (a) K 2527 obv. 15—28 (including 6 missing lines), (b) K 1547 obv. 1—9 (circa 8 lines missing).

(5) The carrying out of the strategy proposed by Shamash and ending with the discomfiture of the eagle recounted (a) on the reverse of the 11th fragment (end of tablet) (b) rev. 30—42 of K 2527 (circa 17 lines missing to end of tablet) (c) K 1547 obv. ll. 10—24 (circa 17 lines missing of episode).

(6) The appeal of the eagle to Shamash for rescue and the latter's decision to send Etana to help the eagle out of his plight, recounted (a) on the reverse of the 13th fragment ll. 1—11 and (b) on the rev. of K 1547 ll. 1—6 (circa 6 lines missing).

(7) Etana's lament and request for the plant of birth recounted (a) on the reverse of the 13th fragment ll. 12—18 and (b) on the reverse of K 1547 ll. 7—16.

(8) Address of Shamash to Etana and the order to the latter to go to the hole in the mountain into which the eagle has been cast, recounted (a) on the reverse of the 13th fragment ll. 19—24 (end of 2nd tablet of edition B.) and (b) K 1547 rev. 17—20 (circa 6 lines missing to end of tablet).

(9) Second address of the eagle to Shamash, the coming of Etana and the dialogue between the eagle and Etana recounted on K 8578 + Rm 79, 7—8, 43 (3rd tablet of edition B or 5th(?) tablet of edition C).

Let us now take up the fragment K 2606 which contains in the colophon the indication that it is the third tablet of

the series *ala i-ši* "he left the city". Scheil does not appear to have noticed that the fragment published by him, which I designate as the 12th, runs parallel to a considerable extent with K 2606,¹ so that in part the latter can be restored through comparison with the former,² and vice versa some readings of Scheil can be corrected. But on the other hand the two fragments are not duplicates. Not only do they diverge from a certain point,³ but Scheil's fragment is a large tablet dating from the Hammurabi period with two columns to each side.⁴ The two accounts appear to stand in the relation to each other of the beginning and end of an episode. In both a state of anarchy is described, due apparently to the hostility of the Igigi.⁵ The land is without a ruler. Authority is lacking, habitations and sanctuaries are not built, and the city⁶ is besieged by the Igigi, but while the description of the terror

¹ ll. 10—16 of K 2606 correspond to ll. 1—9 of the 1st col. obv. of the 12th fragment.

² In K 2606 l. 9, we must evidently read [*ra*]-*bu-tum*; ll. 9—11 can now be restored according to ll. 1—3 of the 11th fragment. In l. 4 of the 12th fragment we must read according to K 2606, 12 *kali-ši-na i-lu i-gi-gu*. For the latter we have in K 2606 the ideographic form. In l. 2 of the 11th fragment read *im-ta-li-ku*. The traces of an additional line seem to have been omitted by Harper between lines 12 and 13. Scheil's reading for the beginning of l. 7 can hardly be correct, while if we substitute *ina u-mi-šu-ma* (like K 2606 l. 14) we get a perfect sense. In l. 9 of the fragment we must read *la ba-nu-u kib-ra-ti ni-iš pa-ra-ak-ki* like l. 16 of K 2606. L. 8 of the fragment evidently contains the phonetic writing *uk-ni-a-am* for the ideograph *Za-Gin* (= *uknu*, Brünnow, Nr. 11776) in l. 15 of K 2606. Cf. Scheil, *Recueil des Travaux*, xxiii, 22 who wrongly, as it now turns out, rejected the proposed reading. At the close of l. 10 of the 12th fragment we must evidently read *e-lu da-ad-nim* = *êlu da-ad-mi* (l. 18 of K 2606). At this point the two texts divide. It should be noted that this 12th fragment now in the J. Pierpont Morgan Collection in New York (see Johns, *Catalogue of the Collection* p. 22) is not only badly preserved but very difficult to read, so that without a parallel text one easily misreads certain signs.

³ See close of preceding note.

⁴ Apart from palaeographic evidence, the tablet has also the ear marks of the Hammurabi period in the expanded phonetic writings like *uk-ni-a-am*, *ma-a-tam ši-im-tim* etc. The determinative for deity is omitted before *Etana*—also characteristic of the Hammurabi period. The tablet is a valuable indication of the age of the *Etana* story.

⁵ Seven in number. Cf. l. 17 of K 2606 (*il*) *xi-bit-tum* with l. 19 (and 12) the ideographic form 5 + 2.

⁶ l. 19 *ala Igigi šu-tas-ḫu-ru[-u]*. The city is evidently the one referred to in the opening line of the series *ala i-ši*, and where the subject is some god

in regard to which the Annunaki hold counsel is continued in the 12th fragment, in K 2606 the goddess Ishtar¹ is represented as intervening. She looks about for a king and places him in control, while En-lil looks out for the sanctuaries of the gods(?).² It would be in accord with the character of the Babylonian style of poetic composition to repeat at the close of an episode the description of the conditions existing at the beginning, witness the frequent descriptions of *primaeval* chaos in the Babylonian creation myth. Unfortunately, the reverse of K 2606 is not preserved with the exception of the closing line and a part of the last line. The colophon furnishes as the opening of the 4th tablet, a line that agrees with the one given in the 13th fragment for the 3rd tablet, and since the preserved portion of the closing line in K 2606 agrees with the closing line of the 13th fragment,³ it would be too strange a coincidence if the two tablets did not close with the same incident—the coming of Etana to the place where the eagle lies.

On the other hand, if what covered three tablets in one copy corresponds to two tablets in another, the tablets of the former must have been of a smaller size and we cannot therefore assume that from the point where the obverse of K 2606 breaks off to the end of the reverse there should have been included all the eight episodes covering about 125 lines embraced in the 13th fragment. We are thus confronted with a problem for which no definitive solution can be offered until more fragments of the narrative come to light, but the most reasonable conjecture is to assume that various versions of the tale existed, differing considerably from one another and in which episodes were included in one version that were *omitted* in another. So much is clear that the anarchy described in the 12th fragment and in K 2606 must have preceded the rescue of the eagle by Etana, and since the narrative can now be carried back continuously to the alliance

who is represented as deserting the city. If, as is possible from the reference in l. 24, the god is Enlil, the city in question might be Nippur.

¹ Also designated as In-nin-na in l. 22.

² The reading l. 24 *pa-rak-kê ilâni*, seems to me preferable to *parakkê schamê* which Harper proposes. The photograph (p. 505) favors either reading.

³ In the 13th fragment we have as the closing line *ul-la-nu-um-ma ul-tak-ka-aš-[šu]* and in K 2606 . . . *la-nu-um uš-ta-ka-aš-šu*.

between the eagle and the serpent, the state of anarchy must have preceded this incident also. There is every reason, therefore, to believe that Scheil¹ is right in his supposition that the state of anarchy represents the beginning of the entire narrative,² just as the Gilgamesh epic opens with a description of terror and confusion existing in Uruk.

Accepting this as a working hypothesis, we would have to assume that the first tablet of the copy of which the 13th fragment represents the 2nd, contained the episode of the state of anarchy and the restoration of order. Then followed the eight episodes covered by the 2nd tablet, after which came another address of the eagle to Shamash—perhaps a second appeal—then presumably an answer of the sun-god and, finally, the coming of Etana to the eagle. The joined fragments K 8578 + Rm 79, 7—8, 43 represent the beginning of this immediate continuation of either the 13th fragment or of K 1547.

The episode in the 12th fragment and with which K. 2606 begins must therefore be removed from the position assigned to the latter by Harper as a third group and placed before the nine episodes into which we have divided the first group. Harper's second group consisting of the joined fragment and supplemented by three further fragments and recounting Etana's flight on the back of the eagle remains where it is and would thus form the conclusion of the tale. The flight naturally follows the rescue of the eagle by Etana. Taking the joined fragment Rm 2, 454 + 79, 7—8, 280 as one, it is clear that this and K 8563 are duplicates or parallels and that both began with the story of the flight.³ K 3651 of which only a part of the obverse is legible, joins on at l. 18 to the reverse of Rm 2, 454 etc. while Rm 522 (only one side preserved) duplicates K 3651, beginning with l. 12 of K 3651 and extending

¹ l. c. p. 18.

² If this be so, it must be borne in mind, as above pointed out, that K 2606 being the 3rd tablet of the series represents the *repetition* of the description as an introduction to an account of the restoration of order by Ishtar and Enlil.

³ Harper has confused the obverse and reverse of K 8563. In K 8563, the beginning of the obverse is preserved. Lines 6—17 of K 8563 = ll. 1—16 of obverse of Rm 2, 454 etc. The reverse of K. 8563 refers to the "death" of the king(?) Etana (l. 4) and to his shade (*e-dim-mu-šu* l. 7) and therefore furnishes some incident that followed upon the flight.

5 lines beyond the latter, ll. 26—30 of Rm 522 corresponding to ll. 24 to 27 of the reverse of Rm 2, 454 etc.¹ If we are to assume that these two fragments (K 3651 and Rm 522) also began with the account of the flight, we would have to suppose for the former at least 40 additional lines at the top, which would give us a tablet of at least 130 lines and for the latter an addition of 50 lines at the top which would give us a tablet of 160 lines. This is most unlikely and it is much more probable that both fragments began with the second—and fatal—flight to the place of Ishtar, the first ending successfully with the arrival at the gate of Anu, Enlil and Ea.² This second flight forming a new episode would be an appropriate place at which to begin a new tablet. The joined fragment and K 8563 would thus contain both episodes, while the other fragments would begin with the second flight—the same relationship therefore as between K 2527 and K 1547. If we assume (as above suggested), that the story of Etana's coming to the eagle extended into the 5th tablet of edition C, we may suppose that the episode of the first flight was still told in this tablet and that the two fragments therefore represent the beginning of the 6th tablet of this edition—and in all probabilities the last tablet of the series.

The larger size of the tablets of edition B (to which the 13th fragment belongs) warrants us in assuming that both flights were included in one tablet. Rm 2, 454 might, therefore, represent the 4th tablet of edition B though this would assume a long narrative in the 3rd tablet before the actual flight began. Perhaps here too it may be more reasonable to suppose that the other two fragments represent the 4th tablet of edition B and the 5th of edition A, while Rm 2, 454 which is a much broader tablet than the others (see the photographs in Harper, *BA*, II, p. 509 compared with p. 503) would then represent a fourth edition of the narrative—complete perhaps in three or at the most in four tablets. Certainly, the fatal issue of the second flight must bring us to the end of the narrative. The result of our examination thus shows that the fragments so far recovered represent five and probably six different copies of the text:

¹ Note also that ll. 18—23 of reverse of Rm 2, 454 etc. = ll. 17—25 of reverse of Rm 522 = ll. 18—24 of K 3651 obverse.

² ll. 34—36 of reverse of Rm 2, 454 etc. See also below p. 125.

- (1) Edition A in 5 tablets
- (2) Edition B in 4 tablets
- (3) Edition C in 6 tablets
- (4) Edition D in 3 or 4 tablets
- (5) A fragment of an edition (K 2606)

which may not have contained all the episodes. All these are in the Kouyunjik collection, to which is to be added the (6) fragment of the Hammurabi period—a large tablet with two columns to each side—representing the beginning of the story and which probably told the whole story in one tablet.

V.

Combining now to the various fragments of the story and leaving aside the possibility that in some version or versions certain episodes were not included, we may reconstruct the story so far as known to us up to the present as follows. The scene is laid in a city which has been deserted by its patron deity or possibly by the gods in general. A state of confusion and anarchy exists, due apparently to the hostility of the Igigi. The Anunnaki hold a counsel in order to put an end to this state of affairs. The goddess Ishtar and the god Enlil appear to be the ones designated to come to the rescue. A king is put in control on earth by the goddess, while on high Enlil aids in re-establishing order. As in so many of the Babylonian myths, we thus have a correspondence between occurrences on earth and phenomena in the heavens. Confusion and anarchy below is paralleled by disturbances on high. During this state of anarchy, productivity ceases on earth. The sheep do not bear young, the gods are deaf to appeals or powerless to intervene against the ravages committed by hostile powers.

Eagle and serpent are next introduced as forming an alliance to carry on a work of destruction. They defy the authority of Shamash who represents order and justice. From the fact that the king whom Ishtar places in control is also designated as *re'u* "shepherd" and that Etana appears in the story as a shepherd,¹ we may perhaps be permitted to conclude that the king who is installed or possibly re-installed by Ishtar is none other than Etana. However this may be, there is certainly a

¹ See above p. 111.

direct connection between the ravages committed by the eagle and serpent and the distress of Etana, both being due to the general confusion that exists through the lack of control on the part of those higher powers that represent order and the harmonic working of the laws of nature. The state of affairs reminds one somewhat of the conditions that prevail during the period that Ishtar is retained as a prisoner in the lower world, during which time likewise the animals do not bring forth their young.¹ In this case we have, as is generally recognized, a nature myth portraying the change of seasons; and in view of the frequency with which this *motif* reoccurs in Babylonian myths, it is not improbable that the conditions portrayed at the beginning of the Etana story rest on the same general basis—a portrayal of the rainy and stormy season in the heavens and on earth, which could be symbolically represented as a time of confusion and disorder.

All this, however, must be viewed as merely conjectural until a fortunate chance shall bring to light more fragments of this part of the narrative.

The alliance between the eagle and the serpent comes to an untimely end. They go into the mountains to hunt for food. Each is accompanied by a young brood. First the eagle kills an animal and shares it with his young (or with the young of the serpent), then the serpent kills an animal and shares it with his young (or with the young of the eagle), but the eagle seizes the opportunity while the young of the serpent are engaged in eating to pounce down upon them. He does this despite the warning of one of the young eagles, described as "very clever" or "very wise", who urges him not to break the laws of Shamash i. e. not to run counter to the laws of righteousness and justice. The eagle consumes the young of the serpent and the latter appeals to Shamash for revenge for the injury inflicted. Shamash listens to the serpent and proposes a strategy. He advises the serpent to conceal himself within the carcass of a wild bull—one of the animals slain during the alliance between the eagle and the serpent—and then when the eagle swoops down upon it, to seize him and tear him to pieces. The strategy succeeds. Again the young eagle warns the father eagle and again the latter pays no heed to the

¹ *Cun. Texts* XV, Pl. 46 rev. 6—7.

warning. He lands upon the bull, the serpent jumps out, tears the wings and feathers of the eagle and the latter is left to die in a hole in the mountains. He does not die however. It is now the eagle's turn to appeal to Shamash to whom he promises eternal obedience, if only the sun-god will help him out of his plight. At the same time Etana "the shepherd" daily appeals to Shamash to again bring about fertility among his sheep. He asks the sun-god to show him the plant of birth that he may give it to his flock. Through the new fragment the meeting of the eagle and Etana is for the *first time made clear*. The plant of birth grows in the mountains in the very hollow into which the eagle has been cast. Shamash reveals this to Etana who takes the road to the mountain and, guided by one of the young eagles (if Jensen's restoration *KB VI*, 1 p. 110, 8 is correct), comes across the eagle. The eagle appeals to Etana to release him from the hole and as a reward promises to fly with Etana to the dwelling of the gods. We are unfortunately left in doubt whether Etana secures the desired plant and the gap in the narrative at this point also prevents us from ascertaining the purpose of the flight. In a general way we may conjecture that the eagle holds out the hope to Etana of being placed among the gods, in other words of securing immortality like e. g. Ut-napishtim, the hero of the deluge. This is a favorite theme in Babylonian myths which, it will be recalled is introduced into the Gilgamesh epic.¹ Etana mounts on the back of the eagle and together they fly upwards. They reach the heaven of Anu and at the gate of Anu, Enlil and Ea—i. e. the ecliptic,² they make a halt. So far so good. Again a gap occurs in

¹ See Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* (English ed.) pp. 494 seq.

² The ecliptic, known as the *ḥarran Šamši* "road of the sun" (see Kugler, *Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel*, I, p. 259; Thompson, *Reports of the Astrologers* etc., Nrr. 88, 103; Virolleaud, *L'Astrologie Chaldéenne, Ishtar*, Nrr. XXI, 73; XXV, 57, 58 etc. etc.), is divided into three sections, known as the "road for Anu," "road for Enlil" and "road for Ea" respectively (Virolleaud, *Ishtar* Nr. IV). The gate of Anu, Enlil and Ea is therefore synonymous with the entrance point of the ecliptic. The Etana myth thus assumes the established astrological system, as is also indicated by the goal of the second flight—the station of Ishtar, identified in the astrological system with the planet Venus. See Jastrow, *Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, II, pp. 441 and 444 seq. In the Adapa myth, the hero also reaches the gate of Anu (Jensen, *Keilinschriftl. Bibl.*, VI, 1, p. 96).

the narrative and when the thread is once more taken up, we find the eagle urging Etana to continue the journey in order to reach the place where Ishtar—i. e. the planet Venus—dwells. As in the case of the first flight, a distance of three *kasbu* or six hours is covered. Whether at this point the eagle's strength is exhausted or whether the goddess herself intervenes, at all events the precipitous descent begins. The eagle falls through the space of three double hours and reaches the ground. The close of the narrative is missing but clearly the purpose of the flight has failed. We are left to conjecture what happened to Etana and to his ancient "airship."

In view of the composite character of so many of the stories that have come down to us from ancient Babylonia,¹ it will not seem hazardous to assume that in the Etana myth two originally independent tales have been combined, one based on a nature myth and describing a state of anarchy and confusion in a city which was deserted by its patron deity or by the gods in general. During this period all fertility ceases. The Igigi are hostile to the city and among those who suffer from the anger of the gods is Etana, the shepherd whose sacrifices to the gods are of no avail in bringing about fertility among his flocks. Order is restored through the intervention of Ishtar—the goddess of fertility in cooperation with Enlil. After the restoration, Etana appeals to Shamash—or perhaps originally to Ishtar to show him the plant of birth of which he has heard and through which his sheep can again be brought to bear young. The request is granted. Etana, it would appear, is also reinstated as ruler over his people and it is reasonable to suppose that the tale ended with the transfer of Etana as a favorite of the gods—like Ut-napish-tim—to a place among the immortals.

A second tale is that of an alliance formed by the eagle and the serpent, the treachery of the former and his punish-

¹ For the creation story see the author's paper "On the Composite Character of the Babylonian Creation Story" in the Nöldeke Festschrift Vol II, pp. 969—982; for the Gilgamesh epic, the author's *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* (English edition), pp. 513seq. and Hermann Schneider, *Die Entwicklung des Gilgameschepos* (Leipziger Semitistische Studien, V, 1) who (p. 83) calls attention also to the parallels between Etana and Gilgamesh which led to the later confusion of the two by Greek writers.

ment through the intervention of Shamash—the representative of justice and order. This tale appears to be a piece of ancient folklore rather than a myth, to which there has been added after the manner of folk tales a moral—not to break the decrees of Shamash.

These two tales—the modified nature myth and the folk-tale with a moral—were combined, just as in the Gilgamesh epic the two independent series of tales of Gilgamesh and Etana were combined.¹ The alliance of eagle and serpent who join forces in a warfare against the animals of the mountains is made a feature of the confusion that reigns while the gods manifest their anger or hostility. The serpent's appeal to Shamash for vengeance suggests Etana's appeal to the god for the plant of birth and the complete link between the two tales is brought about by the meeting of Etana and the eagle in the mountain where the sought for plant is to be found. The transfer of Etana to the gods leads to the episode of the eagle carrying him thither as a reward for helping the eagle out of his sad plight. That through the combination both tales underwent a modification is surely natural. So it is a reasonable conjecture that in the story of the eagle and the serpent, the former actually dies after being torn to pieces by the serpent. Indeed if one reads the description, it is difficult to see what else can happen to the eagle except death. There seems to be nothing left of him after the serpent finishes his work. In order to connect the two tales, the eagle is revived and is rescued by Etana. Similarly, in the original tale of Etana, there is every reason to suppose that he was actually placed among the gods. This is shown by the success of the first flight in which the goal is attained, since the heaven of Anu—the highest part of heaven²—is reached. The second flight is clearly a duplicate of the first and betrays in the language used its dependance upon the former. It is a favorite theme with the Babylonian theologians to whom we owe the preservation and final form in which the old folk tales and popular myths were cast, that man cannot come to the gods, nor can he find out what is in store for him after death, beyond the certainty that he will be condemned to inactivity in a

¹ See the references in the preceding note.

² Gilgamesh Epic, XI, 115.

gloomy subterranean cavern. There may be exceptions but that is the general rule. It would be quite in keeping with this spirit if in the combination of the two tales, Etana is pictured as prevented from attaining his goal. Instead of being brought into the presence of Ishtar he is thrown down to the earth. Just as he appears to be approaching his goal, the eagle with Etana on his back falls through the great space of three double hours¹ that he has traversed—just as Gilgamesh after all his wanderings comes back to Uruk whence he started out with his main purpose—the securing of immunity from death—unaccomplished. The two tales thus combined are made to teach a lesson or rather two lessons,—(a) one that the laws of Shamash cannot be transgressed without entailing grievous punishment and secondly—and more important—(b) that man cannot be immortal like the gods. It is this lesson which the Babylonian theologians made the burden of the composite Gilgamesh epic, as is shown by the close of the tale on its present form. It is this lesson likewise which is illustrated by the tale of Adapa who through a deception practised on him forfeits immortality;² and it is this same lesson which, as it seems to me, the Etana myth in its final form was intended to convey.

In view of the new and important fragments of the myth that have been found since Harper published his study of the text fifteen years ago, it would be profitable to reconsider in detail the many parallels of the story found among other nations and to some of which Harper already called attention.³

¹ That the 2nd flight is merely a duplicate of the first is seen in the persistence of the "three double hours" as the distance traversed. In reality the two flights cover six double hours and the eagle ought to fall this distance before reaching the earth.

² See Jensen, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, VI, 1, pp. 94—101.

³ *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, II, pp. 404—407. In the story of the Kai Kaus or Kavi Usan, the King of ancient Iran (990 B. C. according to traditional accounts), who attempts to fly to heaven with the help of eagles and comes to grief, we can see the influence of the myth of Etana, transformed and adapted to teach the lesson of punishment for heaven-defying pride. In a paper on this story, read before the American Oriental Society, April 21st, 1909, under the title "A Legend of Aerial Navigation in Ancient Persia," Professor Jackson gave the various Persian and Arabic sources for the tale, viz: The Pahlavi Dinkart 9. 22, 5—12 (translation by West in *Sacred Books of the East*, v. 37, pp. 220—223); Tabari's *Annales* (ed. de Goeje I, pt. 1, p. 603); Firdusi, *Shahname* (ed. Vullers & Landauer I, 411—412, ll. 461—486; 2, 1638, ll. 2018—2019);

To do so, here, however, would carry us too far and must be left for some other occasion.

Al-Tha'alibi, *Histoire de Rois des Perses* (ed. Zotenberg, Paris, 1900, p. 165), told in connection with Kai Kaus' building of a high tower in Babylon, from which the attempt to reach heaven by means of eagles was made. This interesting combination of the aerial flight with a tale that is evidently suggested by the biblical story of the Tower of Babel, is a direct consequence of the introduction of the moral element in the old nature myth. The biblical story, voicing the same warning against ambitious pride, was associated with the tale of Kai Kaus and the latter made the central figure of the combined tales.

May we perhaps see in the flight of Ganymede with the eagle to the seat of the gods and in Psyche's flight with the winged Cupid and her fall to earth, (as told in Apuleius' beautiful tale of Cupid and Psyche —*Metamorphoseon* V, 104) traces with modifications of the episode in the Etana myth? Cf., moreover, Meissner, *ZDMG.* 48, p. 190, note 5 about the story of Kai Kaus.

一、二、三、四、五、六、七、八、九、十、十一、十二、十三、十四、十五、十六、十七、十八、十九、二十、二十一、二十二、二十三、二十四、二十五、二十六、二十七、二十八、二十九、三十、三十一、三十二、三十三、三十四、三十五、三十六、三十七、三十八、三十九、四十、四十一、四十二、四十三、四十四、四十五、四十六、四十七、四十八、四十九、五十、五十一、五十二、五十三、五十四、五十五、五十六、五十七、五十八、五十九、六十、六十一、六十二、六十三、六十四、六十五、六十六、六十七、六十八、六十九、七十、七十一、七十二、七十三、七十四、七十五、七十六、七十七、七十八、七十九、八十、八十一、八十二、八十三、八十四、八十五、八十六、八十七、八十八、八十九、九十、九十一、九十二、九十三、九十四、九十五、九十六、九十七、九十八、九十九、一百。





5. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 8